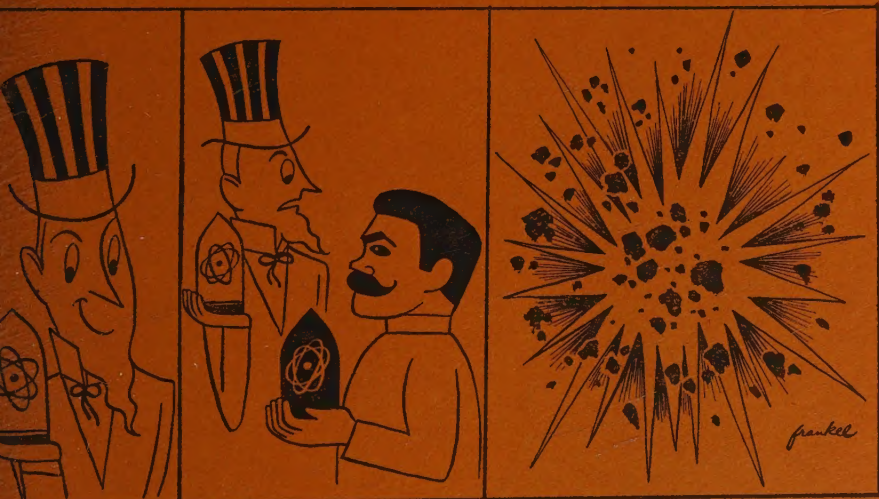


Fellowship

October, 1949

Vol. XV—No. 9

20 cents a copy—\$2.00 a year



One!

Two!!

THREE??

CONTINUITY

The High Cost of Arms, by James Finucane

Episode in Germany, by Constance Muste

Communism and Civil Liberties, by A. J. Muste

This Is the Fellowship's Purpose

ff CONGRESS AND ITS BUSINESS are the business of James Finucane, who wrote *The High Cost of Arms* in this issue. He is the Legislative Secretary of the National Council for the Prevention of War, in Washington, D.C., and it's his job to know what's what on the Hill. . . . Lydia Fluegge, whose letters form the background of *Episode in Germany*, is a school teacher and the head of the Fellowship group in Kassel. She maintained her pacifism through the dangerous years of Nazism and of the war, and since then has acted as an unofficial distribution center for food and goods sent to aid the victims of war, giving out some to desperate people in her own community and sending some to others, including people in the Russian Zone. She has worked a great deal in camps for Jewish Displaced Persons in Germany, visiting them and taking them what material help she is able to secure. She arranges pacifist meetings in Kassel, and has visiting pacifists speak to the children in her school. . . . A. J. Muste deals with a subject which has been giving pacifist and non-pacifist liberals alike many sleepless nights.

FELLOWSHIP

Published by the
Fellowship of Reconciliation

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New York 25, N. Y.

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FELLOWSHIP is published monthly except August. Re-entered as second class matter July 1, 1947, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879; additional entry at Lebanon, Pa.

20 Cents a Copy \$2 a Year

Fellowship

the journal of the fellowship of reconciliation

October, 1949

Vol. XV—No. 9

Subheads

Tenth Hour

We've never heard anyone speak of the Tenth Hour in terms of great significance, but we have a feeling that the tenth hour that ended on September 23, 1949 may have been the most fateful humanity has ever known. It was the hour during which the United States might have made history's great renunciatory gesture, offering voluntarily to give up the terrible weapon of which it was the sole possessor. A statement then that nothing—not a Standard of Living or a Way of Life or even National Survival—could justify the slaughter and suffering of an atomic holocaust might have started the chain reaction of good will that is the only thing that can finally end the war system.

Now it is the Eleventh Hour. Russia has the bomb and, according to scientists, several other na-

tions soon will have it. Even if anyone were thinking seriously of the Gesture, the time of unquestioned purity of motive has passed. Now even renunciation would have the appearance of a political counter-move.

But no one is thinking of renunciation. The very first reaction to President Truman's announcement was the abandonment of efforts in Congress to reduce arms appropriations. The second was to dismiss a Soviet peace suggestion as "propaganda." Fourteen of twenty-six "men-in-the-street" interviewed by a New York newspaper urged that the U.S. redouble its efforts to build more and bigger bombs. (Eight of the others expressed a vague hope that the countries might "get together"; one said he was "heading for the hills"; and the rest gave some equivalent of "So what?")

The eleventh hour has begun. It threatens to be the hour of a race that can have no victor, the hour in which men will rush like the Gadarene swine toward the precipice, driven by the devils in themselves to the very fate they seek to escape.

October, 1949

Eleventh Hour

It is an eleventh hour for pacifists, too. We no longer believe that all pacifists—let alone all “peace-minded” people—can unite in a single effective program. It might be desirable, but it is not possible. When a man is driven by conviction to take an unpopular, dangerous position, it must be his own conviction, not someone else’s, and he cannot change it for the sake of tactical expediency. It may be anyway that what is needed is not more light, but more devotion to the light we have.

Bitter Wind

Newspaper correspondents and public officials in Washington have recently been sent, on an unsigned postcard, a reprint of part of John Black’s *Wind Is Rising*, which goes:

Strike first—or die!

Across the sky
The words in bitter beauty beckoned:

Strike first! For there shall be no second;

*Survival in one blow is reckoned—
Strike first!*

What augury of hell is this,
What brooding darkness, what abyss?

*No time to ponder, plan or pray,
Disaster builds on each delay,*

*Let us—or perish utterly—
Strike first!*

* * *

Scientists preparing for biological warfare have developed germs much more powerful and hardy

than any nature has produced unaided.

Sympathy

We extend our sympathy and best wishes to Great Britain and the other countries that are experiencing a severe dollar shortage. We’ve been in the same fix many times.

Opportunity

The gloomier ones among us keep insisting that regimentation and collectivism are having their way even in the land of the free enterprise, and that it’s getting so a man can’t collar an honest buck by such time-honored techniques as money manipulation, rigging the market or establishing a neat little monopoly. We submit as evidence that Yankee ingenuity still peers out every loophole the following advertisement taken from the July 24 *New York Times*:

WANTED EXPERIENCED IMPORT MAN

The man we are looking for is experienced in the import of commodities, chemicals and products special and unique to the country of origin.

He may now be employed but dissatisfied with his present connections. Perhaps he feels stymied by his efforts or is not permitted to share fully in the financial rewards of his work. Perhaps his present company lacks sufficient imagination and courage to take advantage of current opportunities created by upset international conditions.

The man we are looking for realizes that in today’s erratic currency conditions lie greater opportunities for profit than ever exist in normal times.

Fellowship Fortnight
October 30—November 14

Fellowship

TEACHERS MAKE LESS THAN PRIVATES, CIVILIAN
CONSUMPTION IS CURTAILED BY MILITARY PRODUCTION,
YET WE GO ON PUSHING THE SPIRAL HIGHER WITH

The High Cost of Arms

By JAMES FINUCANE

ANYONE CAN ADD UP the military budget.

Just stick to the billions. And leave the fractions to the experts.

For convenience, (this is not a patented device) think of a billion dollars as a stack of coins as high as the Washington monument. Then place sixteen of these monuments around in any pleasing pattern and you have a mental picture of the amount of cash and credit which Congress is giving the military in one money bill this year.

Stack up an additional billion-dollar obelisk for atomic energy development, most of which is devoted to the atomic bomb; pile up another billion for the occupation of Germany and Japan, and a billion-and-a-half, extra tall shaft for the Military Assistance Program. Drop a plumb-line on a third of a billion for a new wind-tunnel; and pile on some few tenths of billions for odds and ends. Before you know it, you have a parkful of glittering monuments, closely resembling a fictional Hollywood cemetery.

Paul Blanshard, former head of the New York City Department of Investigations and Accounts, recently measured up these billions, including capstone fractions, and came out with a count of 23 billion dollars. This, he says, is "the absolute minimum in real current expenditures for arms." Mr. Blan-

shard included ECA in this, presumably because of its operation as an agency of economic warfare.

But fiscal monuments don't tell the factual story. Represented here are the B-29's of the type that carried the fateful A-bombs, the B-36's that may carry them again. Here are flame-throwers for South America, land-mines that cut your legs off with ball-bearings for France, and before the inventory is completed, very likely a little bit of all of these for China. Here are the wasted skill and sweat of the armaments industry.

Counting it manwise, this year's budget alone means about one and a half million men on active duty in our Army, Navy and Air Force, plus about a million in a drill-pay status. It also means nine hundred thousand civilians on the military payroll in military establishments.

A Senseless Picture

Any way you look at this picture, upside down, through the wrong end of a telescope, or with Freudian mirrors, it is bewildering in its enormity and senselessness. The 23 billion dollars, for example, is three billions more than the entire \$19,800,000,000 which was the sum of all Federal and State income taxes in 1948.

The one and a half billion being

scheduled for the foreign Military Assistance Program alone is more money than we spent on our entire military forces in 1940, a year of mobilization, and more than our entire federal budget before 1916.

As far as our give-aways are concerned, however, this size is becoming routine. For example, we have given China 271 naval ships, 102 million dollars worth of ammunition and arms, 694 million dollars worth of lend-lease, plus 125 million dollars in cash, and fabulous, uncomputed amounts of supplies of military equipment abandoned by our troops in West and North China, all since V-J Day. In return we have received 25 million dollars, with 5 billion Chinese dollars thrown in for good luck and souvenirs.

Dizzy?

Wait!

Under the Surplus Property Act of 1944 we have given away, since V-J Day, 800 million dollars worth of combat equipment to 39 countries for a token payment of 70 million dollars. In addition we have spent 400 million for arms for Greece and Turkey, and more is in the sluiceways. The President under his plenary powers has made other uncounted munition transfers to France and Italy.

Security and Prosperity

Of course the pat official reason for this profligate carnival of arms is "security." As phrased by Secretary of Defense Louis Johnson:

"The program presented in the 1950 budget is designed to achieve a reasonable degree of preparedness—it is but a program for national defense—the program of a free peaceloving people who are strong; who are careful in their strength to avoid attempting to dominate."

Many Congressmen agree with Johnson. Others have reservations but keep quiet. They fear they'll appear unpatriotic. And then, they think, after all, maybe it's good for business.

Officially the government never comes out and defends the arms program as an economic crutch. Yet President Truman in his mid-year economic report to Congress July 11, 1949, said:

"The fact that public expenditures of Federal, state and local governments are running at a rate of close to 60 billion dollars a year is itself an element of great stability in the present situation."

Discussing these same expenditures, but in blunter terms, the *Wall Street Journal* said August 1949:

"Military expenditure contributes to the maintenance of high price and wage levels, but of course is economic waste. . . . We are doing these things because we suppose they will avert a depression."

The theory is, if you raise prices big enough you'll be able to mill them.

You can't blame people for falling for this arms-prosperity myth. We've been led to believe that the war brought prosperity, and that was a resounding financial success. Quite a few people think that the postwar arms continuation program has brought prosperity, whereas actually all it has brought has been inflation, high prices, lower living standards and an incipient depression.

The first cracks in the war-prosperity myth have been made by sober economic analysts. J. Fred Eric Dewhurst in "America's Needs and Resources" points out that there was a "steady decline in private residential construction from

nearly three billion dollars in 1941 to about 500 million dollars in 1944." The backlog in housing created during the war has never been made up. Three million couples are now living doubled-up with other families in makeshift apartments and grotesque cubby-holes or cellars.

Because of the rising prices, women have had to leave their homes and their children and find jobs in factories and offices. Most of them work because they need the money rather than because they love their work. Before the war, one wage-earner supported the typical family. Now, more workers are needed per family. Women in the labor force have increased by forty percent, from 12 million to 17 million-plus, in the last ten years.

More Alarming Costs

Tie this in with the alarming divorce rate, incidentally, and you get an arms cost even more staggering than the 23 monuments.

Many youngsters have had to leave school and go to work. School drop-outs have increased. More than 19 percent of our high-school students now hold outside jobs, compared to only four percent in 1940. This cuts into their time for homework, family life, and social development. These boys and girls are not Algers anxious to get ahead. They're overburdened youngsters trying to stay alive.

In a speech at the Pentagon April 5, 1949, Dr. Edwin G. Nourse, chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, stated:

"Few people appear to realize how great was the accumulation of deferred maintenance in our total school system during the war

and the further deterioration that both school plant and teaching personnel have suffered during postwar inflation."

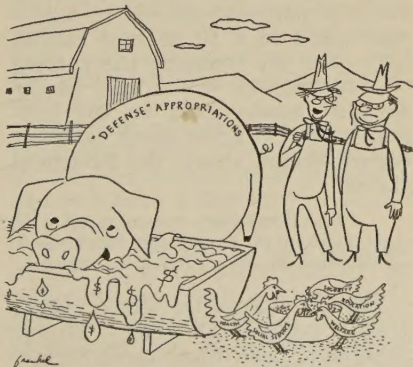
At the moment we are paying our school teachers, on a national average, \$2,550 a year while we are soon to be paying privates in the army \$2,593, under the new scale.

The war chewed up enormous quantities of iron, copper, lead, zinc and aluminum, much of which will never be recovered for further use. It dipped heavily into our dwindling petroleum reserves. It left us with a critical situation as far as some of our most essential minerals are concerned.

Instead of building the usual amounts of factories, schools, roads, homes, and other capital items during the war, we fell 32 billion dollars behind.

Dewhurst compares the five-year defense period with five typical non-depression years in peacetime, summarizing it this way:

"For productive facilities as a whole, the sum of the deficiencies in expenditures was nearly \$13



"Those chickens'll eat us out of house and home!"

billion, compared with 1925-1929. Outlays for developmental works were deficient by \$3.3 billion, more than three quarters of which consisted of highway construction. Deficiencies in outlays for consumer construction amounted to more than \$16 billion—more than \$1 billion in recreation, nearly \$2 billion in education and nearly \$12 billion in housing. Capital goods outlays in the defense and war period fell below 1925-1929 by a total of more than \$32 billion."

With 40 percent of the gross national product going to war at capacity, civilian consumption, appearances to the contrary, was not maintained. Quoting Dewhurst again:

"Although we consumed just as much or more in the aggregate, we were unable to have a full measure of 'both butter and guns.' We had to forego new automobiles in order to get tanks, road construction in order to build distant air bases, nylon stockings so as to have parachutes, and new productive facilities in order to provide specialized war equipment."

We're poor and hardly know it.

The higher prices following and resulting from the war have cut the value of personal savings in half—equivalent to a 50 percent capital levy—and are reducing the volume of consumption, which may be the dreaded handwriting on the economic wall. In the same midyear report quoted above, the President stated:

"The downturn commenced with a failure of consumer markets to expand in line with total output."

There you have the whole vicious trend: arms, high prices, buying weakness, bust. Now, some blindly believe that arms will cure the bust rather than intensify the decline.

An arms program is no good

even to take up unused capacity. Public works programs may be of debatable value in some circles but they at least add to the national wealth, increase our convenience and facilitate our travel. Arms programs do nothing but encourage parasitic growth. No military position turns out anything that can be sold in a market. You can no more exchange the fruits of your labor with an army post than you can with a graveyard. All you can do is give

In addition, arms programs keep our facilities and labor chained to useless tasks, while otherwise these facilities could be contributing to the world's supplies of goods and services, thus lowering prices and raising living standards. At the present time we're keeping an elephant because he eats so much hay. We like it that way. He consumes an amount equal to ten percent of the national income. But the elephant's likely to wind up getting our shredded wheat, too, and then dragging us off to a circus.

If it weren't for the peacetime record military budget, prices might be low enough to encourage buying. Prices could even be low enough to make it possible for foreign countries to get all their requirements here without incurring a dollar deficit. Reduction of the military budget would help cut away the stifling fear of war that now impedes investment.

With a cut in government taxing and spending, individuals would have more to spend. Buying for a rising standard of living, they would be able to keep all our great productive facilities running prosperously. We would be able to improve our plant, develop our resources and get on with the job of making a better and a less irrational way of life.

Episode in Germany

Adapted from the letters of Lydia Fluegge

By CONSTANCE MUSTE

DR. BAUER THOUGHT she was at the end of her rope. She had been bombed out three times, each time losing her precious medical instruments, her drugs, and all her personal possessions. The end of the war had brought new difficulties, and Dr. Bauer migrated from Berlin to the Western Zone.

In Kassel a well-known doctor offered to engage her as his assistant, but he could pay her no salary—she would get fees from her patients—and he had no lodging for her. She wanted to do medical work, though, for nothing else could satisfy her, so she took the position, found a miserable little room, and went to work. It was impossible to buy dresses or shoes, and a doctor's coat was unheard-of. And then, after the currency reform which attempted to check the fantastic inflation, her chief told her he could employ her no longer!

Once more she was at the bottom, with no work, no office, no instruments. She looked for suitable rooms where she might set up an office and start a practice, but none was to be found. And if she found the rooms, how could she start without instruments, without furniture, without anything at all? Months followed, with no chance to practice, with despair eating away her hope. Then came another stroke of luck.

The doctor in Oberzwehren, a section of Kassel, fell ill, and called her in as a substitute. It promised to last for only a few weeks, but

the chance to practice again and to earn some money was a tremendous relief. Timidly, ashamed of her clothes, which had suffered much and not been replenished, she began to make her rounds. One of her first patients was Mrs. Fluegge. When she got up to go Lydia Fluegge, the daughter, who had been watching her in amazement, said, "And now, doctor, what is the matter with *you*? You need someone to look after you, too!"

Dr. Bauer tried to smile, for she was used to having people tell her how awful she looked; how her cheeks were hollow, her body too thin. But Lydia Fluegge pressed a tin of powdered milk into her hand, and that was something nobody had done before. She refused to take it, of course; nobody had enough to give food away, and one would feel guilty to take things the donor must certainly need. Lydia insisted, however, and finally, when she left, the doctor took the nourishing milk with her.

The next morning, on her desk, she found a note. "Please when you go on your rounds drop in once a day and have a meal at our house. It will do you good."

This is too much, she thought, trying not to be overwhelmed. Of course it's too much, but how kind! But she could not ignore the generous offer, and on her rounds that day she hesitatingly stopped at Altenbauernstrasse 70 again, stammering a few words of thanks and refusal. Almost before she knew

what was happening she was sitting down with a cup of Nescafe in her hand, steaming and fragrant. It was accompanied by cake, something she had not tasted for years, and even a little chocolate! She left hardly believing it had happened, but could not stay away. The next day there was tea, delicious Chinese tea, with bread and butter and cheese, and honey, and even meat. Mrs. Fluegge and her daughter watched while she ate it all, thinking how undernourished she was, and how desperately hungry she must have been. The next day there was chicken soup and pudding and, wonder of wonders, a doctor's coat. How good it was to know that she looked like a doctor again, (albeit a very thin one), how much at home she felt in the starched white garment! Day after day the dream went on, one meal always seeming better than the one before.

But Mrs. Fluegge was very ill, and after awhile Lydia was left alone. Dr. Bauer, who had lost not only a patient but a kind and generous friend, went to say goodbye to Lydia, and was received with an offer to move in and live with her. The room where Dr. Bauer had been living was a bare attic, bitterly cold in winter, unbearably hot in summer. After a moment's hesitation she accepted, and moved in.

The two women became fast friends, and Lydia began to try to find a way for Dr. Bauer to set up her own practice again. Among the ruins of Kassel a businessman was rebuilding a little house, and he was enthusiastic about the idea of having a doctor on the second floor. As the work went on, though, he needed more money for expenses than he had told the doctor at the beginning, and the money her old

teacher had loaned her was not enough. She owed two thousand marks already, and there was no one in the world from whom she could borrow any more. The ceilings, walls and floors, windows and doors of the little flat were still unpainted, and the painter asked a thousand marks more to finish it. The two friends decided to take care of the painting themselves.

They found young people out of work, who were glad of a chance to do the job in return for some clothes or a pair of shoes, and the daily meals and a little pocket money. The work got under way with a happy group of very different people, and little Dr. Bauer picked out the colors. The flat had a room where she will live, a waiting-room, and a consultation room. In addition there is a kitchen that will be turned into a room to which she can move a patient who needs her care but is not ill enough to go to the hospital. Hospital beds in Kassel are in desperately short supply.

"Well," said Lydia a day or so later, "you'll need curtains. What color do you want for the grey room?"

"Green, of course. But I shall have to do without curtains for awhile."

But the curtains were there, just the green she wanted. Lydia had received a huge package one day from a certain Mrs. G—— in the United States, with all kinds of things in it. And Mrs. G—— had written, "I do not know you but I know that you are a friend of Muriel Lester, and Muriel is the most wonderful person my husband and I know. I send you a few odd things from my mother's attic. . . ."

(Please turn to Page 18)

If we would keep our own freedoms and preserve the capacity of democracy for peaceful change, we must be concerned with the problem of

Communism and Civil Liberties

BY A. J. MUSTE

IN BEAUTIFUL, WEALTHY and almost solidly Republican Westchester County, just north of New York City, in the land of respectability and not in the wicked cities, or the "wild west," or the "backward south," angry mobs on two successive Sundays late this summer stoned and overturned automobiles, injuring 150 people who had committed the "crime" of attending a concert given by Paul Robeson, a great singer and an avowed Communist. At least some of the 800 police who were present to keep order, joined the mob in shouting imprecations at the "Communists."

Two months earlier, in July, several thousand teachers and other school officials, gathered in Boston for the annual convention of the National Education Association, passed a resolution urging that Communist Party members be barred from employment in the public schools. The resolution was carried in an atmosphere of intense excitement, impatience with any expression of negative opinion, and insistence on putting the thing through before the regular order for this action had arrived.

The action of the NEA is typical of action being taken currently by many governmental and private bodies, and the Westchester riots were an ominous symptom of the now widespread anti-Communist hysteria. Increasing numbers of teachers and other public em-

ployees must sign "loyalty oaths." Communists are barred from teaching in public and private educational institutions, and in many instances a "Communist" is a Wallace voter or anyone else with an unorthodox idea. The United States Senate this summer unanimously agreed to bar any Communist youth from holding a fellowship under the Atomic Energy Commission, even for research that has no connection whatever with military security, while the Department of Justice is seeking to convict the top officials of the Communist Party in a trial under the Smith (Gag) Act in New York City. State legislatures throughout the country are considering proposals to outlaw the Communist Party, and immigration authorities are deporting Communists who have lived in this country for many years.

My deep concern for these things does not grow out of any sympathy for the Communist point of view. I believe that the world-Communist movement and the Communist-dominated regimes in Russia and other lands present problems of the utmost seriousness for all who value the democratic way of life and want to see it maintained, improved, and extended.

Regardless of what may be true of some forms of communism in theory, communism as a cultural and political manifestation in our day is a form of totalitarianism. To

stop its spread and to abolish it as a way of life and as a political dictatorship, is therefore the necessary and urgent purpose of believers in democracy.

Added to this is the fact that Communists constantly resort to deceit and violence, and that they believe this to be the only realistic way to work for "the revolution"—a new social order—in the kind of world in which we live. The seriousness of this is not altered by the fact that multitudes of Communists are utterly and magnificently sincere in giving unquestioning obedience to the monolithic Party through which alone, they are persuaded, a new world can be born. They do use deceit and violence at the behest of the Party; they do conceal and lie about membership in the Party; they do penetrate organizations of all kinds for ulterior purposes and without hesitating to resort to the most egregious chicanery.

Finally, and most exasperatingly, while Communists vehemently insist on their "democratic freedom" to speak, write, and organize, they do not maintain these civil liberties in Russia or other Communist-dominated lands, and are frankly bent upon replacing "bourgeois democratic forms" with the "dictatorship of the proletariat" in the United States and other democracies. In the United States the C.P. actually supported the prosecution of Trotskyists in Minneapolis under the Smith Act in 1941 and at recent "Civil Rights Congresses" (sic) refused to join in urging pardon for these Trotskyists while demanding that all "progressive" elements join them in the bitterest protests against the current prosecution of Communist Party officials under

this same Act. It is completely understandable that non-Communist Americans should exclaim: "Why should a democratic country commit suicide by practising tolerance toward the intolerant?"

Why then do pacifists, who in their rejection of all violence are in a sense further removed from Communists than any other elements in our country, contend against the current anti-Communist measures and plead for full liberties of speech, press and association for Communists and fellow-travelers?¹

Repression Futile

The first reason, I suppose, is the obvious futility of the typical sweeping repressive measures now being resorted to: their failure to do what they are supposed to do. For example, let us concede that Communists are disloyal and anti-democratic, and an insidious danger by reason of their concealment of their adherence to the Party and its ideas. The argument then is that by requiring loyalty oaths of government employees and teachers by barring Communists ("advocates of the overthrow of the government by force and violence") from government posts and teach-

¹ In this article I am not dealing with the measures taken against illegal or violent actions of Communists or other subversive groups. Pacifists do not necessarily accept uncritically all that the duly constituted authorities may do in this field, but this is not the urgent issue before the American people today. For the sake of the present argument it will be assumed that counter-intelligence operates against Russian spies in this country that laws against violence in labor disputes or public demonstrations in which Communists may be involved are enforced, and that actions involving the betrayal of military secrets, treason, or threatening the forcible overthrow of national or state governments will be dealt with under the laws existing for the purpose.

ing positions, we can "smoke out" the Communists and thus deprive them of the opportunity surreptitiously to spread their doctrines and influence.

Plainly such reasoning is faulty: the Communists will not hesitate to take the loyalty oaths, and simultaneously they will take stronger measures than ever to conceal their identity whenever that may serve their purposes. Morally they will feel that they are more than ever justified in doing so, for these very repressive measures will seem to confirm what they have all along contended: that the exponents of civil liberties — and more particularly the governing elements in the so-called democratic countries—do not believe in civil liberty in principle any more than they, the Communists, do! In other words, in order to smoke out the Communists, we institute measures that convince them they were right all the time in believing that democracy is an illusion and a farce, and make them take greater precautions against being smoked out. This hardly seems the way either to win Communists to faith in democracy or to protect society against their deceitfulness.

Consider the proposal to bar Communists from teaching posi-

tions. The democratic or libertarian standard for engaging or retaining teachers is simply that they should be professionally competent, without regard to their religious or political beliefs or lack of them. Professional competence, putting the matter in very summary fashion, means a knowledge of subject matter, skill in communicating it to others, and an attitude of wanting to help pupils learn to think for themselves.

Now it is argued by a good many usually sober and balanced people that the fact that a person becomes a member of the Communist Party in itself constitutes conclusive evidence that he or she cannot have the balanced, objective, unemotional attitude essential in a good teacher. The political views of Communist Party

members, say these critics, are bound to affect their teaching improperly. Thus two members of a University of Washington faculty committee that considered charges against fellow professors, two of whom eventually were discharged from their posts, said in a minority report that "active membership in the Communist Party is an overt act of such reckless, uncritical and intemperate partisanship as to be inimical to and incompatible with the highest traditions of academic



Courtesy Chicago Sun-Times Syndicate

"This term, Professor, in addition to your B.A., M.A., Ph.D., you'll need an O.K. . . . from the loyalty board."

freedom and responsible scholarship." The obvious—and at the same time profound—comment on this statement is the one made by Henry Steele Commager, the distinguished Columbia University historian: "If membership in the Communist Party—or in any other organization—does paralyze the critical sense or produce bad teaching or worthless scholarship, it should not be difficult to prove this."²

By adhering to a pragmatic approach, judging each case on the merit of the evidence produced about the individual's record, we would avoid adopting the policy of guilt by association and intention which is contrary to the American tradition and characteristic of procedure under dictatorships. Abandonment of an important element in democratic process might be too high a price to pay even if it were the only way to accomplish the objective of eliminating some undesirable teachers, but to make this sacrifice when there is another simple way to gain the desired result surely suggests that hysterical emotions rather than reason are the source of our current reactions.

In the second place, as has just been suggested, the cost of the prevalent repressive measures is too high. The mere cost in dollars and cents is a far from negligible item. Since the Communists are not going to expose themselves voluntarily, it becomes necessary to set up bulky and expensive investigating machinery. Under the Feinberg Law in New York State every school board in the State has to examine the loyalty of all the teachers in its jurisdiction. Of course, it will hardly be deemed

sufficient to do this once in each case, certifying a teacher as loyal for the rest of his professional life. And presently, as experience has shown, it becomes necessary to have investigators to check on the investigators. Politicians, moreover, who serve on federal and state Committees on Un-American Activities have patronage, publicity, and other reasons for wanting their work extended and staffs enlarged. Seldom if ever does such an agency consent to go out of existence or even to have its appropriations cut.

Few Communists Found

The point becomes sharper when we consider this item of cost from other angles. How many Communists have been discovered and removed from government jobs or university teaching positions? Professor Thomas I. Emerson of the Yale Law School pointed out at a conference of the American Civil Liberties Union this spring that fifty persons in federal posts—none of them top-echelon positions in any sense—out of a total of 2,300,000 have been discharged as a result of the loyalty tests! At the University of Washington a very long and searching study found three Communist Party members on a faculty of over seven hundred.

Looking at the problem from another angle, Professor Commager makes the flat assertion: "No instance has yet been produced where a Communist on a university faculty actually did harm to students or to scientific truth." And he goes on to point out that we have as yet no reliable evidence as to the advantage which follows from such an investigation and to make the

² *New Republic*, July 25, 1949.

interesting suggestion that the University of Washington should in a year or two set up a careful study to determine the answer to that question. "Will it then appear that competent scholars are more eager to join its faculty . . . ? Will parents breathe more easily . . . ? Will students come to the campus more gladly, and will their learning and morals show an improvement?"³

The current procedures are costly and dangerous also because they tend to divert attention from the really important reasons for the existence of incompetent teachers, and are actually likely to help perpetuate and nourish the sources of the evil. Any informed American must realize that the number of Communists, competent or incompetent, who may have positions in the educational institutions of the country, especially the public schools, is infinitesimal compared to the incompetents who owe their jobs to the influence of groups like the American Legion, Chambers of Commerce, churches (Catholic in some communities and Protestant in others), political machines, or just plain dumb school board members—all regarded as one hundred percent American and unquestionably anti-Communist.

And in the final analysis, surely the inadequacy of teachers is due to inadequate pay and the low esteem in which the job of teaching is held by large sections of the American populace! Certainly there is no reason to think that the present anti-Communist hysteria and the measures that flow from it will do anything to remedy these tremendous evils. On the contrary, the result easily may be aggravation of them.

³ Ibid.

If once we abandon the clear and simple test of professional competence and decree that some racial, religious, or political test is to be applied to teachers, then in various parts of the land it will soon be difficult for Negroes or Jews or Roman Catholics or agnostics or trade unionists, as the case may be, to obtain or hold positions in the schools or other public institutions. If people who regard Russia and communism as a supreme menace are justified in applying *a priori* political tests and the doctrine of guilt by association and intention against Communists, then why should not equally sincere and equally disturbed people who think Roman Catholicism is the supreme menace apply such tests and doctrines against all Roman Catholics? Provided, that is, they have the power to do what they want. In the defense of civil liberties there can be no exceptions, or there will soon be many.

Play Into Stalin's Hands

We have it on the authority of the ardent anti-Communists themselves that Stalin and the Communists are trying to produce social strife in America, while the Communists claim that they have only to give a little assistance to tendencies that are inherent in our "fake capitalistic democracy." Are we not doing a good deal to prove them right, and thereby playing directly into Stalin's hands? Certainly the growing tendency to "purge" all nonconformist thinking represents a rending of the very fabric of American life.

Even so, a good many people who share these misgivings about these repressive measures still are not disposed to oppose them wholeheartedly unless they see an effec-

tive alternative method of "stopping communism." It is important to discuss whether such an alternative exists.

Communism, which involves the abrogation of the civil liberties that are so important a part of the "American way of life," can come to prevail in this or any other country on two conditions.

The first of these is the continuance of economic injustice and insecurity and racial inequality. This is the soil in which communism and other forms of totalitarianism flourish. To combat communism effectively, then, we must remove these evils. Otherwise, we shall prevent communism only at the cost of civil war—the beginnings of which are seen in such roadside fighting as disgraced the Westchester countryside recently—and the setting up of the kind of fascist totalitarianism that existed in Germany, Japan and Italy.

Contrariwise, the provision of such things as genuine equality for Negroes and other minority groups would create a sense in this country of such moral and social well-being as would cause the members of these groups and millions of others to laugh Communist propaganda off the stage. The churches, I suggest, ought to ponder the possibilities of an immediate large-scale campaign against all segregation and discrimination as perhaps the most effective single contribution they can make to the campaign against communism both in this country and abroad.

The second pre-condition for an anti-democratic regime is a situation in which people become afraid of change and of the democratic process that makes peaceful change possible. Unhappily, this is what already has happened to large sec-

tions of the American public. There are a good many groups—employer, veteran, church, political—that all along have had more real faith in conformity and some form of authoritarianism than in nonconformity and democracy, and as always happens in a time of crisis such underlying facts are coming to the surface. In this age of persecution, terror, and atomic war millions of people who thought they believed unconditionally in humaneness, liberty, and peace have gone through an experience of shattering disillusionment. Though many shrink from admitting it, even to themselves, they have concluded that ours is not an age in which these things can be: that survival demands readiness to resort to the most "realistic," i.e., ruthless, means.

"Give Up War, or Else . . ."

Ultimately I think this poses for American libertarians of all kinds the hard choice of renouncing war or giving up the democratic way of life. I do not want to press that issue now. Suffice it to remind our fellow libertarians who are not yet convinced that this drastic choice must be made that it will be very difficult to develop a morale for the defense of democracy when democracy is a vanishing quantity. In such circumstances the advantage is bound to be with the totalitarians who have no scruples or inhibitions and have all along contended that democracy is on the way out. Democracy cannot be saved by "rear-guard action." It has to be positive. Democratic nations can be saved only by living their creeds radiantly and imaginatively.

For pacifists at any rate the way

seems clear. We shall oppose all the current repressive measures. We shall seek to allay hysteria. We shall defend Communists against repression and violence by every nonviolent means open to us, even if that means that portions of the public lump us with the Communists. Many of us if placed in similar situations surely will want to follow the example of Dr. Miriam Brailey and two other Baltimore pacifists who at the risk of their jobs refused on August 1 to take the "loyalty oath" under the notorious Ober Act, which a Maryland judge pronounced unconstitutional some days later. And we shall continue resolutely to oppose war with Russia and appeal for a nonviolent solution of the controversy between Russia and the United States.

Not Refrain from Criticism

To avoid misunderstanding, let me observe in conclusion that this is not an argument for refraining from criticism of communism and Russia. Freedom of expression for "the thought we hate" implies equal freedom *and responsibility* to say that we do reject the thought and why. There is no inconsistency in opposing the State's attempts to "control thought" and in criticizing regimes that do the same thing.

Nor do we advocate "united fronts" or organizational collaboration with Communists. Communists have made it abundantly clear that they do not believe in civil liberties in principle and for those with whom they differ essentially. The problem is whether those who do believe in freedom of utterance will grant that freedom to those who frankly would destroy it if they had the power.

Toward solving that crucial problem Communists obviously

cannot contribute. And I think many well-meaning Americans would feel more secure now and be more willing to risk the great adventure of contesting communism on democracy's own ground and by strictly democratic means, if the line I have indicated had been more clearly and consistently drawn in the past. These people now feel that they have been duped. Communist propaganda for civil liberties has turned out to be propaganda for communism and Soviet policy. They conclude—mistakenly of course—that all propaganda for civil liberties is therefore suspect; and some of the "intellectuals"—fellow-travellers, innocents and collaborators—are partly responsible for that conclusion. As a result, we lack support we desperately need in the supreme crisis for democracy in our own country and elsewhere.

Positive Democracy Needed

The corollary of this observation is that it is essential in the struggle against totalitarianism that all the elements in educational circles, farm organizations, unions, churches, women's organizations, and so on, who are unequivocally committed to the principles of free expression and association, should find immediately a way to put themselves on record against the current repressive activities, and for a positive and imaginative practice of democracy, and then should devise effective ways of working for these ends. Communists and fellow-travellers and other kinds of authoritarians cannot do this. Unless these other elements get to work at once the cause of freedom is doomed—in other words, the authoritarians will have won.

This Is the Fellowship Purpose

*Although Members Do Not Bind
Themselves To Any Exact Form
Of Words,*

They refuse to participate in any war or to sanction military preparations; they work to abolish war and to foster good will among nations. . . .

Members of the Fellowship may be found in 48 states and several territories of the United States and in 32 countries of the world. In Germany under Hitler's regime some died in concentration camps or were executed for their pacifist beliefs, for defying Nazi laws or for aiding and protecting Jews; in India many were members of Gandhi's nonviolent movement for freedom, some serving in it through the difficult years when they were beaten and jailed, some from the movement's beginning; one member in Russia keeps contact with the International Fellowship. In this country young Fellowship members who were eligible to be drafted during the war went, for the most part, into civilian work camps where they did forestry, soil conservation, worked as hospital attendants, and at other jobs of a nonmilitary character. Some went into the Army, but did only noncombatant work with the medical corps; and a strong minority, who believed that to work for the government in any capacity was helping the war effort, refused to do either of these, and were sent to jail.

The Statement of Purpose of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, to which all members adhere, though they make their own interpretation and decide for themselves in which field they wish to work, is the basis of our pacifist belief. We present it here as a reminder and a renewal of faith for long-term members, and as an introduction to nonmembers who want to know more about the Fellowship, with an elaboration of each point showing what is being done.

The Fellowship's staff and members produce and distribute literature dealing with the causes of war and ways of dealing with them; hold meetings to acquaint others with their point of view; practice and foster goodwill among people of different nations. They are active in religious, educational and other groups where they try to promote ways of dealing with world problems which will solve them without raising a multitude of other problems, as war does.

. . . they work to . . . foster good will among nations, races, and classes. . . .

Some of the most dramatic work of the Fellowship is in the field of race relations, where its nonviolent techniques for bringing about the abolition of segregation of Negroes in restaurants, theaters, hotels,

swimming pools and other public places are well known. It has helped students to abolish segregation in dormitories and stores near their campuses; helped liberal groups in two cities to abolish discrimination in department store employment; held Workshops from three days to four weeks long to train people in nonviolent techniques and give them experience in actual situations.

The Fellowship supports the right of workers to organize and bargain collectively, and the right to work. It approves of some of the techniques used by labor and management in their relations with each other, but decries those on both sides which are violent or dishonest.

They strive to build a social order which will suffer no individual or group to be exploited for the profit or pleasure of another, and which will assure to all the means for realizing the best possibilities of life;

While the Fellowship does not endorse any political party or group and its members belong to various parties, it believes in the equality of all men before God and in their right to the opportunity to develop their talents and abilities, and a life free from the fear of poverty. Some members work out this belief by active support of the labor movement and their own union; some through consumers' or producers' cooperatives; some through a political party; and others by various individual methods or groups.

They advocate such ways of dealing with offenders against society as shall transform the wrongdoer rather than inflict retributive punishment;

Many of the Fellowship's young men had a chance to see at first hand the standard method of dealing with offenders against society, when they went to jail during the war. They were confirmed in their belief that religion and psychology are right in advocating love and understanding which find and treat the source of trouble, rather than a regimented, impersonal system of punishment which aggravates personality problems when it does not create new ones, and makes no attempt to touch economic ones. Our present penal system only occasionally acts on wrongdoers in a creative and transforming manner, although that method and ways to apply it have been generally accepted by psychiatrists and advanced penologists for some time.

They endeavor to show reverence for personality—in the home, in the education of children. . . .

How do you bring up a child to recognize and respect the value of each individual personality; to judge people for their own qualities, not on the basis of superficial prejudices against those of other nations, races, classes or religions; to love and reverence "that of God in every man;" and do it without disrupting his relations with other children and adults, many of whom he will find have other beliefs? Fellowship members are deeply concerned about this question, and with carrying out in their home life and in their relations with all people their belief in the sacredness and value of every personality.

They seek to avoid bitterness and contention, and to maintain the spirit of self-giving love while engaged in the struggle to achieve these purposes.

Members believe that violence of action or attitude shows a lack of respect for the individual with whom one is dealing and defeats itself by arousing antagonism; and also that positive values result to the person who maintains an attitude of good will and friendliness. They do not believe that problems can be solved by shutting one's eyes to evils or difficulties, or by glossing them over; but only by facing the truth, and dealing with it honestly and openly. The Fellowship's members believe that it is only in this way that a real solution can be worked out of the conflicts between nations and races, between classes, and between individuals.

Episode in Germany

(continued)

Curtains for the other windows were provided out of the package too, and from another package some shoes and a couple of dresses, so that when Dr. Bauer went calling she need not be ashamed of her appearance.

The doctor whose place she was taking is well again, and no longer needs a substitute, but Dr. Bauer is staying on in Oberzwehren. Her new practice is in a quarter where mostly working people live. Thousands of them are out of work, and during the coming winter there will be thousands more. That's just the right place for Dr. Bauer. There won't be any well-to-do private patients, and a new doctor coming from the Russian zone will not get admission to the sick funds; but she *must* practice, and her friends know she is exceptionally gifted, and are determined to do everything they can to see she gets her chance. In those streets around her

live many poor people who will be thankful for treatment, even if they can pay very little, and the little doctor will not become rich, but she will have enough to exist.

And she and Lydia Fluegge hope that the little flat will become a center of good will to the neighborhood. The poor patients will be served, when it is possible, with coffee or cocoa from the American packages, and peace literature will be displayed in the waiting-room. And Lydia Fluegge, who with the help of the packages and money from the Fellowship of Reconciliation and its members has brought about this miracle and many others, ends with unflagging faith and hope: "May God bless this work!"

God's Pilgrim

Mohandas K. Gandhi

Pilgrim from God, he walked the dusty road

Of life, a wise and humble mendicant;
Straight to man's heart as to a shrine, he strode,

And on dry hopes, new faith blazed radiant—

Incredible dreams that love and truth could be

The audacious weapons that would set men free!

Now he is gone. We know strange joy unfolding

In our gloom. Like men who, stumbling through the night

Across a misty plain, look up beholding
White peaks soaring, sweeping up and out of sight,

We look toward him in trembling awe to see

The spiraling heights of man's capacity

ELIZABETH HUNTER

News from the Peace Front

Government Moves Against Tax-Refusers

As the number of tax-refusers gradually increases, various departments of the Bureau of Internal Revenue have moved against individual tax refusers in various ways. Warrants of distraint have been issued against Marion Fren-year for 75% of last year's taxes, which she refused to pay in March of last year; and against the Rev. Maurice F. McCrackin, pastor of the West Cincinnati St. Barnabas Church. Walter Gormly, Marion and Ernest Bromley, Wallace Nelson, George M. Houser, Grace Rhoads and William Bacon Evans have recently been visited by revenue agents or called for an interview to the revenue office.

Caleb and Hope Foote report that the government is in process of collecting their taxes from their bank account, as has already been done in the case of Mrs. Dorothy DaPonte; but Mrs. F. B. Riggs, who was threatened with such action some time ago, finds that it has not been carried out.

Miriam Keeler of Washington, D. C., who works for an agency of the Federal government, reports that for the past year her agency has allowed her to work part time in order to keep her pay tax-exempt, and that although the Bureau of Internal Revenue has placed a tax lien against her, her pay checks have all come to her intact. After other unsuccessful maneuvers, the Bureau has threatened to place an offset against her retirement.

People who have recently taken the tax refusal position are Woodbridge O. Johnson, Jr., of Parkville, Mo.; Ruth Catherine LeBarrer of Uniontown, Pa.; Olga K. Robinson of Menlo Park, Cal.; Elizabeth Coan (Mrs. Edward C. M.) Richards, (whose husband is a tax refuser) of West Chester, Pa.; and David Bauman of Yucaipa, Cal.

IFOR Conference in 1950 Planned for Holland

The next General Conference of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation will be held from July 24 to 28, 1950, in the conference house of the Dutch Christian Youth Movement at Woudschoten, near Zeist, Utrecht, Holland. It is expected that some 200 persons will attend, from about fifteen countries. Youth peace organizations are especially urged to send representatives.

Since accommodations for the conference are limited, preference will be given to those who expect to stay for the whole time. The charge for board and lodging will be \$2.50 a day, or 6½ Dutch guilders. The registration fee for the Conference is \$3, which is not returnable.

Those interested should write to Percy Bartlett, General Secretary IFOR, 38 Gordon Square, London W. C. 1, England.

Sentence Nonregistrants in Puerto Rico

Eight members of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico, whose leader is Albizu Campos, have refused to register for the draft. They base their refusal on the fact that Puerto Rico has no vote in Congress, and that the United States is the only country that conscripts for military service the inhabitants of its non-self-governing territories. The brief raises three points: (1) That it is a basic principle of the Constitution that equality of duties is based on equality of rights, and that Puerto Rico, lacking Congressional representation, lacks equality of rights; (2) That Congress holds Puerto Rico as an entity distinct from the United States in such matters as customs and excise duties, the inapplicability of Social Security to Puerto Rico, etc.; and (3) that the United States has placed Puerto Rico under United Nations supervision in accordance with the UN Charter, but has not reported to the UN its imposition of compulsory military service.

The eight men have all been convicted of violation of the Selective Service Act. Reinaldo Trilla Martinez, Luis Manuel O'Neill Rosario, Dario Berrios Cruz, Dimas Matos Nieves and Miguel Angel Ruiz Alicea have been sentenced to a year in prison; and Rafael Cancel Miranda and Ramon Heraclio Medina Maisonave have been sentenced to two years and a day; and bail has been denied to all of them.

In spite of their appeal to be allowed to remain in the island where they could consult with their lawyers, all seven have been transferred to prisons in the continental United States. Since the First Circuit Court of Appeals in

Boston, which will hear their appeals, does not sit in Puerto Rico until February 1950, some of them will have served a good share of their sentences before the appeals are even heard. The eighth man, Jose Miguel Castillo Vega, a veteran of World War II, is still in prison awaiting sentence.

Prison Sentence for Tax Refuser

On September 1 James Otsuka of Richmond, Indiana, received a sentence of 90 days and a fine of \$10 in Federal Court at Indianapolis for refusing to pay the \$4.50 which he owes on his taxes. The actual charge on which sentence was passed was failure to appear at the office of the Internal Revenue Collector when summoned. Otsuka had written the Collector in answer to the summons that he could not appear on a weekday, but would be glad to come in on a Saturday morning if it was convenient.

He was summoned into court on August 19 to show cause why he should not have appeared in answer to the summons, and at that time told Judge Robert Baltzell that he was not trying to evade an appointment and that he was willing to give what information the Collector wished, but would not pay the tax. The Assistant District Attorney then indicated that as far as he was concerned the charge against Otsuka had been satisfied but Judge Baltzell commanded Otsuka to pay the tax before September 1 or face serious consequences.

When, on September 1, Otsuka still refused to pay, the judge handed down the sentence, not for failing to pay, but for failing to appear at the office of the Collector when summoned.

MEMORANDUM

TO: Readers of "Fellowship"

FROM: THE NATIONAL MENTAL HEALTH FOUNDATION
1520 Race St., Philadelphia 2, Pa.

We feel sure that you are already aware of the pacifist origins of our program, which grew out of the Mental Hygiene Program of CPS.

Six members of our staff are ex-CPS men with personal knowledge of tragic mental hospital conditions. The dynamic, crusading spirit with which this organization was originally endowed is still very much alive. We have made real progress in a long-neglected field — enough to have gained nationwide recognition for our work and the participation of many influential people.

The health and welfare and happiness of hundreds of thousands of people may depend on what this Foundation is able to accomplish. We have therefore determined to raise enough money to put on, across the country, the comprehensive, educational campaign that is so desperately needed.

We ask each of you to send a generous contribution in support of this humanitarian program, as a living memorial to the wartime services of the three thousand conscientious objectors who volunteered to work in mental institutions during World War II.

Richard C. Hunter
Executive Secretary

6,439 COs Deferred, 48 in Prison

As of July 15, a total of 6,439 men had been deferred as conscientious objectors under the Selective Service Act of 1948. This figure reflects a steady rise in the number classified as COs, since the total deferred as of December 31, 1948 was 4,502 and the total as of March 31, 1949, was 6,001. Men who reach their 18th birthdays and register are classified, even though no one is being called up.

As of August 1, 1949, a total of 82 nonregistrants have been arrested, 14 have been arrested for counseling nonregistration, including twelve in Puerto Rico, and for refusing to report for induction, making a total of 97 in the toils for violations of the draft act. Of these, 55 nonregistrants have been sentenced to prison, two of those arrested for counseling nonregistration have been sentenced, (Larry Gara to 18 months and Dr. Wirt Warren to two years), and one who refused to report for induction (William Bisso of California). 48 of these are now in prison.

Quakers Urge U.S. Promote East-West Peace

In a widely read report issued to promote discussion and moves in the direction of a solution to the problem of tension between the East and the West, a Working Party of Friends declared that war is not inevitable, and suggested a number of concrete steps which this country could take toward such a solution. The Working Party was headed by President Gilbert F. White of Haverford College, and submitted its report to the American Friends

Service Committee, which made it public.

The report urged that economic warfare be curbed and East-West trade in Europe promoted. This included the lifting of restrictions on this country on normal exports to Russia and Eastern Europe, and a halt to under-developed areas in eastern Europe as well as elsewhere.

The report said that American policy should seek "the political and economic unification and the neutralization of Germany," and urged an end to attempts to set up separate German states. It suggested the progressive withdrawal of occupation forces after setting up a German state, a guarantee of impartial commercial access to German production, the inclusion of Germany in an armament agreement, and integration of Ruhr coal and steel into the work of the UN Economic Commission for Europe.

The report urged that the United Nations should be used to lessen tensions between the United States and Russia. The U. S. should strengthen the UN by promoting the principle and practice of third party settlement of disputes and by seeking out issues on which it could, without jeopardizing its fundamental beliefs, vote with Russia. It should also promote effective international control of armaments and atomic energy and propose an agreement to put present stocks of atomic weapons under United Nations seal. Finally, this country should indicate its willingness to accept limitations of national control over armaments as well as over atomic energy if and when world agencies with governmental powers are developed for those areas.

All the recommendations were addressed to the United States because, the report said, this coun-

try's policy is the responsibility of its own citizens, of whom the Working Party was made up; because the suggestions made in the report, if carried out, might produce desired changes on the Soviet side; and because the group believed that the importance of preventing war is so great that it would be a good investment for the United States to make more than a reasonable effort to improve the situation.

Copies of the report may be obtained by writing to the American Friends Service Committee, 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

400 Ministers Call for Release of Objectors

On July 25 a statement was presented to President Truman informing him that the more than 400 leading ministers who had signed it were willing to be "publicly associated with the statement of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends in the Larry Gara case," and to "support his appeal to the Supreme Court." The Friends statement affirms the right of a man to follow his conscience, even if it leads him to violate the law, and continues: "We believe that every Christian and every Christian Church body should encourage and support him in his loyalty to the highest that he knows. For ourselves, we give this encouragement, as our Religious Society has always upheld its members in faithfully following their consciences."

Among those who signed the statement presented to the President were: Bishop W. Appleton Lawrence; Bishop Edward L. Parsons; Professors John C. Bennett,

Reinhold Niebuhr, Paul Scherer and D. Paul Tillich of Union Seminary; President A. C. McGiffert of Chicago Theological Seminary; Prof. Henry J. Cadbury of Harvard; Chancellor Robert M. Hutchins of the University of Chicago; Professor Robert Lynd of Columbia; and many others.

Dr. Lyman Joins Union Seminary Staff

Dr. Mary Ely Lyman, who was Lecturer in English Bible at Union Theological Seminary and Associate in Religion at Barnard College from 1928-1940, and since then has been Dean of Sweet Briar College, will again join the faculty of Union Seminary, beginning with the academic year 1950-51. An FOR member, she will be Jesup Professor of English Bible, and will be the first woman to occupy a Chair at Union, and one of the first to hold a full professorship in any American theological school.

Relief Funds from Handiwork Sale

An extremely useful and effective way of raising money for European and Asiatic relief has been worked out by M. Imogene Sanborn, 2545 Valentine Avenue, New York 58, New York. The sale of handiwork donated for the purpose brings in funds which go for badly needed relief to the Foreign Section of the AFSC. If you knit, sew, crochet, paint or work in leather, give one of the products of your hands to the sale. If you are not a handicraftsman any gift which can be sold will be gratefully received by Miss Sanborn.

Norway Plans "CPS" for COs

The Norwegian Ministry of Defense has sent to Parliament a bill providing for forest and farm work camps for conscientious objectors. Norway has a compulsory military training law which requires nine months of service from its young men. COs will be required, under the new bill, to serve for thirteen and a half months in nonmilitary work.

About 500 men will be affected immediately by the new ruling if it goes through, it is estimated. They will receive regulation army pay, family allowances, and all services on a par with regular army conscripts.

ADVERTISEMENTS

MECHANICAL ENGINEER wants permanent position with small or medium sized manufacturing company doing work not connected with armament program. Experience: 3 years research and product development, 1½ years assistant professor mechanical engineering. B.S., Antioch College; M.S. in Engineering, University of Cincinnati. Fields of interest: Product development and design of small and medium-sized mechanisms, machine construction and production. Age: 28, married, one child. Write: Paul Wagner, College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, Mayaguez, Puerto Rico.

BOOKS FOR PACIFISTS—We specialize in elusive out-of-print books in the fields of Pacifism, Race relations, Cooperative and communal living, Labor, Women's rights, Social gospel, Civil liberties, Quakerism, Political radicalism, and other social movements. Send us a list of your wants. Hi and Margaret Doty, Route 1, Chadds Ford, Pa.

FAITH; fighting in God's Army; a passionate vocation;—thereby be healed, made whole, Life Science practice: Robert Tipton, Route 3, Colorado Springs, Colorado.

Dr. Tittle Dies; FOR, Methodist Leader

Dr. Ernest Fremont Tittle, member of the FOR since 1931 and minister of the First Methodist Church in Evanston, Illinois, died the last thirty years, died on August 3 of a heart ailment.

Dr. Tittle was an outspoken pacifist, and in 1924 was denied the honor of preaching the baccalaureate sermon at Northwestern University because of objections to his views. At the 1932 Methodist General Conference, he introduced a resolution which would forbid the Methodists holding such meetings in a city where hotels discriminated racially. It was one of the first such moves in the church, and despite considerable opposition was passed.

Dr. Tittle lectured at many colleges, universities and seminaries and was a delegate to the Oxford Conference on Life and Work of the Churches, last year was chairman of the Commission on World Peace of the Methodist Church, and was a member of the Federal Council Commission to Study the Basis of a Just and Durable Peace among many other activities.

ABOUT THE ADS

FELLOWSHIP declines advertising which it considers obviously unsuitable. However, it does not want to censor ideas. **FELLOWSHIP** feels that it is a sound educational and democratic approach to assume that members can and should decide for themselves which ideas they want to follow up and which are useless or repugnant to them.

The news of greatest importance to the FOR this month will be written by its individual members in their accomplishments during Fellowship Fortnight. We are leaving this space blank to be filled in by you with the record of that Fortnight.



Books

Acts of Compassion

Above All Nations, by George Catlin, Vera Brittain, Sheila Hodges, Gert Spindler and Devere Allen. Harper and Brothers, 1949. 189 pp., \$2.00.

During the late war a group of British writers decided to counteract the horror stories of embattled mankind with a collection of recorded episodes demonstrating that human compassion could and occasionally did rise above current hostilities. That collection of humane acts among warring soldiers and civilians, as compiled by Vera Brittain, her husband—Professor George Catlin—and Sheila Hodges, sold more than 60,000 copies in a Britain that apparently felt the need for proof that decency and human sensitivity still existed.

An American edition immediately suggested itself—one that would include more stories of American experiences than the British edition contained. Devere Allen was the man who added the fresh American material, and to his collection of stories were added many of German origin, collected by Gert Spindler. So the American edition of *Above All Nations* is itself above all nations and speaks for men and women on all sides of wartime boundaries.

The 203 stories, some of them several pages long and others only anecdotes and brief news items, all deal with the love-thine-enemy theme: in battles, prison camps,

hospitals, air raids, cemeteries, speeches and encounters with "enemy" aliens. Taken together they are comforting stories, proving that even under the most embittering circumstances there could be sympathy for the miseries of wounded or captured opponents and the loneliness of enemy dead.

But, so what?

The more this reviewer read, the madder he got. To think that out of the slaughter of millions upon millions of world brethren we have only this pitiful collection of isolated episodes dealing, for the most part, with quite natural acts of kindness that were not actually above all nations but beneath the uniformed exteriors of all nations.

Sure, individual soldiers were kind to other individuals in distress, soldiers or civilians, where there were opportunities for men to act as men and not as machines. It happened all the time in medical units to which I was attached. Once a man was wounded, he was commonly regarded as a patient without uniform. If he died and time allowed, he got a fairly permanent and uniform type of burial, regardless of previous condition of military servitude. That is normal human behavior. But it is quite apart from the killing side of war. Try, if you will, to imagine an army corps, or even a division, acting with compassion!

I have been on bombing missions

and have stood on the decks of warships shelling shore positions and have watched the automatic riflemen cut down their opponents. In return, I have been bombed, shelled, shot at, etc. It's all a great impersonal dehumanized and soul-numbing affair. Men are not men but opposing numbers. That is what is so horrible about it—too horrible in its mass inhumanity and crass destructiveness to be sweetened one whit by the knowledge that this or that soldier was kind to another during a brief holiday from the slaughtering.

That Private Bishop drowned while rescuing the child of the enemy from a similar fate may be consolingly evidence that individual kindness still exists. But what of the existence of forces above all individual feelings that can turn masses of mankind into heartless robots responsible for Buchenwalds, Hiroshimas and the decaying heaps of unknown dead?

—EDGAR L. JONES

Peace and the Church

Peace Is Possible, Ed. by Sydney Temple, Introd. by Bishop W. Appleton Lawrence. Episcopal Pacifist Fellowship, September 1949. \$2.00.

A collection of essays dedicated to the memory of Adelaide T. Case, with two main divisions: The Responsibility for Peace, and The Possibility of Peace. Selections include "The Responsibility of the Church for Peace," by John Nevins Sayre; "Peace in the Ecumenical Movement," by Katharine C. Pierce; "The Things That Make for Peace," by Bishop W. Appleton Lawrence; "Educating for Peace," by Adelaide T. Case; "What the Individual Can Contrib-

ute," by W. Russell Bowie; "Peacemaking in Cold Wars," by Shelton Hale Bishop; and many others. Royalties from the sale of the book will go to the Adelaide T. Case Memorial Fund for Religious Education.

The Economic Situation

The West At Bay, by Barbara Ward. W. W. Norton and Co., 1948. 288 pp., \$3.50.

Miss Ward argues for an economic and political union of Western Europe in a book whose economics is simply put. The basic problem in international politics is the creation of an economically stable Europe. This requires the increase and stabilization of Western European production, and the balancing of accounts with the United States. Historically, Europe's lag in productivity has created a chronic inability to export to the United States as much as she imports. The war has vastly increased this imbalance.

Miss Ward analyzes the Marshall Plan, whose basic objectives are the same as hers. She shows that it is extremely unlikely that it will succeed if Western Europe remains economically and politically divided. She estimates that when the Marshall Plan runs out in 1952, Europe will still be at least three billion dollars a year short of balancing its American accounts.

The only solution, she feels, is a threefold program which will (1) centrally ration European production and imports from America, (2) form a European "low tariff area" so that European nations will be able to buy more freely from one another, and (3) open up sources of supply outside the

United States. But such a program will have to overcome two American obstacles. One is opposition to discriminatory "low tariff areas." The other is insistence that Marshall Plan dollars be spent only in the United States.

Miss Ward's analysis is weaker when she gets into politics and morals. The question of what economic and political groups are likely to control Europe under centralized economic organization, and the implications for democracy—a subject excellently treated by Nicholas Clarion in the April, 1949, *Commentary*—receives no discussion. Her efforts to refute leftist charges of American economic imperialism are rather naive. On the moral level, she contrasts the "democratic" with the "Marxist" view by maintaining that "man, as such, in his character and personality, hardly puts in an appearance in Marx's pages." This is untrue, but what is more serious is that it is extremely hard to find man in his "character and personality" in Miss Ward's pages. There is no posing of the problem of how far an economic program oriented to efficiency must, or should, curtail freedoms of workers and others. Her approach is a typical liberal-socialist one: in one compartment a hard, cold, dollars and cents calculation; in another, a fuzzy sort of lip service to transcendental Christian and democratic ideals which are somewhere out beyond man and his activities.

If one is going to talk about morals and politics, this will not do. For it is not abstract freedom or Christianity, but the solution, in day-by-day concrete situations, of the threefold problem of political power interests vs. immediate human interests vs. long-range ef-

ficiency, which distinguishes the free society from the totalitarianism. This threefold problem is obscured rather than clarified by Miss Ward's apologetics.

—DON CALHOUN

Pamphlet Parade

Studies in Christian Enthusiasm by Geoffrey F. Nuttall. Pender Hill, 1948. 96 pp. 50c.

A discussion of the wave of intense feeling and enthusiasm upon which Quakerism, like all great religious movements, was launched. Discusses particularly Thomas Adams, Richard Farnworth, Thomas Holme, and James Nayler; and the danger of over-extravagant excesses to which this enthusiasm sometimes led.

—C.M.

New Song

Pass the Word Along, by Elisabeth Johnson. Published by the author. \$.25.

An anti-war song, both music and words by FOR member Elisabeth Johnson. Dedicated to the United Nations, it is intended to appeal for peace and an end to man's inhumanity to man.

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*Centennial Address, 1947
Bishop William Scarlett of Missouri*

The Committee of parishioners and friends of the parish that has prepared this booklet believes that it will be of dramatic interest and profound concern to all readers of *Fellowship* and all members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. We will gladly send a copy to you upon request without obligation, if you will use the attached coupon. When you have read it through, if you feel as we do about the basic issues involved in this situation, we shall welcome your assistance in its further circulation.

Mrs. Ella Phillips Rose
Melish Case Defense Committee
Apt. 2-B, 161 Henry Street,
Brooklyn 2, New York

I have read your advertisement in "Fellowship" and would be glad to receive a copy of "The Melish Case."

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(Kindly write clearly)

Letters



Put on Pressure

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I wrote Mr. Muste recently that the national office should put more pressure on us for a *definite commitment* to regular prayer, meditation and/or other forms of spiritual self-cultivation. I make the same suggestion in response to Mr. Hinshaw's letter. I make it urgently. I have started on something of a personal program but I am human enough to need a *pact* with others whose ideals are like mine.

There is nothing wrong with the work that we members can't cure by better support, financial and *spiritual*. If we don't become deep and thorough all-around Christians (in endeavor and dedication) we are sunk along with the rest of the world.

CLAUD D. NELSON, JR.,
Hampton, Virginia

Our Responsibility

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

My mind is leaping ahead on the problems common to all us pacifists. I think now that, as with churches, there is no further progress that we can make in our old terms, however dear to us or however they may seem even to be identified with the ultimate Christianity—as with relief or with reconciling factions after they have been made factions.

Our Western civilization cannot continue dealing out crime with one hand and uplift and compassion with the other. It is rent asunder with its horrible con-

traditions. And we are all a part of and cannot evade our responsibility.

The crisis probably has meant all this time that human freedom has reached saturation within the old national moulds and that it now faces extinction altogether in its characteristic limited form. The West has never exported brotherhood except as "brotherhood limited," developed everywhere principally for home, or for race or class, consumption—never as the ultimate, universal, Christian community of God.

What is happening in Puerto Rico illustrates just how much United States has been an arch offender in this crime against humanity. And that means us.

The world has to have a new birth of freedom—probably cannot exist half slave and half free. But *this* crisis probably means that never again can there be a new birth of freedom except it be in international terms. I wonder if that is its challenge to pacifists. And I wonder if we can measure up to the task God has given us.

RALPH TEMPLIN
Yellow Springs, Ohio

Congratulations!

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Congratulations on the July issue of FELLOWSHIP. Especially was I impressed by "Inside 2929 Broadway." Please find the concrete evidence in the form of an enclosed check.

I was particularly bored in the June issue with *Don't Call Me Pacifist*. If we have to have an article like that please make it short.

On the whole FELLOWSHIP is my favorite magazine and I read it from cover to cover including ads.

BETTY JEAN SALMON
Detroit, Michigan

Fellowship Has Variety

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I am so thankful to be sending this small check at last! And hope now that nothing will happen to prevent me from being faithful.

I liked so much the July FELLOWSHIP and it was great to find that lovely poem by Sarah Cleghorn. You manage to give to the magazine so much variety—it never seems stale or repetitious. And your *Sub-heads* are so clever that I feel in awe of you!

MRS. J. LEEDS MANNING
East Hampton, L.I., N.Y.

... it's informative ...

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Thanks to George Hogle's article "Inside 2929 Broadway" in FELLOWSHIP, I am led to realize the sacrifices others are making. The result is this small check.

One more thing, at the end of the article he says if each member gave 3c a day the FOR budget could be met. From now on you'll get 3c a day from me. It's just such specific information we FORers need to show us what exactly is needed and expected of us. Keep us informed in like manner—that is, if you need a thousand bucks, tell us how much per person that equals! That makes the job appear less hopeless when we send pennies.

REV. KENNETH REDFEARN
Brimfield, Ill.

[Four cents a day would make possible a 25 percent expansion of the work! —Ed.]

... it's provocative!

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

We are enclosing \$1.50 for your very fine magazine—a year's subscription. We've seen quite a few copies—but until now have not had the privilege of subscribing.

We thank you in advance for twelve months of provocative reading.

MR. AND MRS. R. A. POTOCHNIK
Modesto, Calif.

Cooperative Games

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

A glance at the last issue of FELLOWSHIP gave me the impression that somebody thereabouts has been badly neglected educationally as far as the ideals of cooperative, non-competitive play are concerned. According to the very first item, somebody was wounded because somebody wanted him to weave when he didn't want to weave.

We of the Character Research Association in St. Louis have a hunch (there are exceptions—some of our members believe that competition is indispensable to the good life) that one of the very serious ills of our culture is the element of competitiveness. We have a hypothesis that this is partly fostered by the competitive play life in childhood, and that further it is possible to alter our culture with respect to the play life of children with a very great improvement in the degree of cooperativeness in our culture.

We further believe very strongly that it is possible in time to do some testing of this hypothesis. To this end we are developing a manual of cooperative games. Our second hypothesis—more remote—is to carry on eventually some hard-boiled experiments with these games, not only to see whether they are "saleable," but with what effects upon the moral fibre of the individual. We are mailing you under

separate cover a preliminary draft of our Cooperative Play Manual.

THEODORE F. LENTZ
St. Louis, Mo.

[We append directions for cooperative baseball from the Cooperative Play Manual.—Ed.]

HIT AND RUN

Two players stand at each point of a diamond.

Player 1 throws the ball to 2.

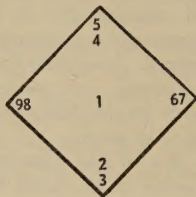
Player 2 turns around and throws to 3.

Player 3 hits the ball with bat to the center player.

Player 1, as soon as he has thrown the ball, has run in back of player 5.

Player 4, therefore, runs to the center to catch the ball hit by 3.

As soon as 3 hits the ball, he steps in another line, so that the person he displaces takes the batter's position. Successful hits are scored when all players move to their respective places on time.



But Is It Pacifist?

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

June FELLOWSHIP's introductory note to Norman Whitney's statement to the Cleveland Conference of the Federal Council of Churches says that it "represented the pacifist minority's viewpoint." If it did represent the pacifist viewpoint, then the pacifist trumpet at that important conference sounded forth for univer-

sal disarmament and for international inspection and control under that program.

A call for this kind of disarmament says: "We'll disarm if you will first convince us that you will disarm at the same time." There is nothing in a call of this kind which strikes a note that is either clearly pacifist or Christian. "Do not ever the publicans the same?"

Norman Whitney bases his call for this kind of disarmament upon Jonathan Dymond's words: "War must be wholly forbidden or allowed, without restriction to defense. . . ." But the kind of disarmament which Dymond's words call for is not universal disarmament at all, but the kind which says: "We'll disarm whether you do or not, for we are done with waging wars and therefore our arms are henceforth useless." This kind of disarmament is known as *unilateral disarmament*, and is unquestionably based upon pacifist principles.

In the light of this I do not see how Norman Whitney's program will "incur the gravest risks," as he stated. It is none other than the attempt to play our hand in the safest manner possible. *Unilateral* not universal, disarmament is a program which will "incur the gravest risks"—risks that well befit the pacifist cause.

The call at Cleveland may have represented the pacifist minority speaking there, but there are many pacifists whom it does not represent. To me it seems to be neither a Christian, a Quakerly, nor a pacifist position.

MARION BROMLEY
Wilmington, Ohio

Fellowship Fortnight

October 30-November 14

FOR Field Secretaries

Midwest: Albert Watson, 740 Rush Street, Chicago 11, Ill.; *Far West:* Orval Etter, 1941 Oregon Street, Berkeley 3, Cal.; *Southwest:* Glenn Smiley, Room 115, 213 S. Broadway, Los Angeles 12, Cal.; *Middle Atlantic:* Charles Walker, 2006 Walnut Street, Philadelphia 3, Pa.

Christmas Cards - 1949

its Christmas Cards, the Fellowship tries to express the true meaning of Christmas as a significant observance, not just a midwinter holiday. This year, we present three cards, each a different theme. You can order a selection, sending different ones to different friends whom you think they will appeal, or you may like one so much that you want to send it everybody.

Mother and child in a poor home, but surrounded by friends and neighbors of different faiths and races. Original pen-and-ink drawing by Louis Freund; poem by Elinor Lennen. Folder, 4 x 5½ inches, printed in two colors.

2. Mankind, in the form of a soldier, turns toward the star of peace, leaving behind the broken and abandoned weapons of his trade. Pen-and-ink drawing by Louis Freund; poem by Peggy Pond Church. Folder, 4 x 5½ inches, printed in two colors.

3. The Newest Cherub (remember him?) comes down to look over the situation on earth and take a report back up to the Heavenly Statistical Bureau. Things look pretty black, but he finds reason to hope that men will find a way out of their present desperate situation. Drawings by Simon Frankel; text by Alfred Hassler. 8-page folder, printed in two colors.

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NOW IS THE TIME TO PLAN YOUR Fellowship Fortnight

October 30—November 14

A couple of weeks ago you received the Fellowship Fortnight folder. I told why we are urging all members to give all the time they can spare for two weeks to working for the Fellowship. By now you've thought it over pretty carefully, and if you haven't already planned just what *your* project or projects will be, now would be a fine time to do it. Below, just to refresh your memory, are the projects you might choose; and we've included a list of the excellent materials, some brand new, that we can provide to help you.

1. Start with a Dinner or Special Service in your Church.
2. Enlist in the Peace Roll Call.
3. Campaign for New Members.
4. Visit Ex-Members.
5. Strengthen FOR Groups, or Build a New One.
6. Give Fellowship subscriptions to Libraries, Churches and Friends, and sell them to interested people.
7. Sell (and buy) FOR Christmas Cards.

Send for These

15 Meditations	25c
What Would Pacifists Do About Dictators?	10c
Sample Christmas Cards (one of each)	10c
October FELLOWSHIP	20c

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You Asked About the FOR
Christmas Card Folder
Pacifism and the Human Spirit
The Conscientious Combatant

Don't Forget Peace Roll Call!

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